

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 103677
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:RCASTRODALE

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:RCASTRODALE

-----021483 221822Z /66

O 221722Z APR 78 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 103677

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 5384 ACTION SECSTATE INFO CAIRO
APR 22

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 5384

EXDIS DIST AS NODIS

DEPT PASS TO THE SECRETARY; CAIRO FOR AMBS ATHERTON AND EILTS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR PBOR IS EG US XF OVIP (DAYAN, MOSHE)

SUBJ: DAYAN'S FORTHCOMING MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY

REF.: TEL AVIV 5300

1. IN OUR APRIL 20 MEETING I DESCRIBED FOR DAYAN OUR
THINKING ABOUT THE AGENDA FOR HIS MEETINGS WITH THE
SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON APRIL 26-27. I SUGGESTED HE
PICK UP WHERE HE LEFT OFF ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES,
AND NOTED THAT ROY ATHERTON WILL BY THEN HAVE PROVIDED
THE SECRETARY WITH THE LATEST EGYPTIAN VIEWS. IN ADDITION,
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I PROPOSED THAT HE GET AS DEEPLY INTO THE WEST BANK
ISSUE AS POSSIBLE, CONCENTRATING ON THE PERIOD AFTER THE
FIVE-YEAR INTERIM REGIME.

2. DAYAN AGREED WITH THIS GENERAL APPROACH. HE SAID
HE WAS READY TO DISCUSS THE DECLARATION AND FELT THAT
THE REMAINING GAP WAS NOT VERY WIDE. HE NOTED THAT

UNLESS THE EGYPTIANS CHANGED THEIR MINDS, AGREEMENT WAS WITHIN REACH WITH A LITTLE GIVE AND TAKE ON BOTH SIDES. DAYAN ALSO WANTED TO DISCUSS NOT ONLY WHAT HAPPENS AFTER THE FIVE-YEAR INTERIM REGIME ON THE WEST BANK, BUT ALSO THE PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS ON STATUS OF THE WEST BANK DURING THIS PERIOD. HE IS ALSO ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN EXPLORING THE NEXT PROCEDURAL STEPS IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AFTER AGREEMENT ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. WOULD THE EGYPTIANS AGREE TO RESUME BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, OR WOULD THEY REQUIRE THAT A WEST BANK AGREEMENT BE PUT INTO PRACTICE FIRST? THERE WAS ALSO THE QUESTION OF WHAT HAPPENS IF HUSSEIN AND THE PALESTINIANS REFUSE TO JOIN IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IF THIS TURNED OUT TO BE THE CASE, WOULD SADAT THEN GO HIS OWN WAY?

3. DAYAN NOTED THAT DURING THE FIRST DAY OF WEIZMAN'S LAST VISIT TO CAIRO, SADAT HAD EXPRESSED SOME UNEXPECTED BUT VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND INTERESTING IDEAS ON HANDLING THE WEST BANK ISSUE. SADAT HAD DEALT NOT ONLY WITH THE PERIOD AFTER FIVE YEARS BUT ALSO HOW TO GET THINGS MOVING NOW EVEN IF HUSSEIN AND THE PALESTINIANS OPT NOT TO JOIN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. DAYAN TERMED THESE SADAT IDEAS AS VERY PRACTICAL AND JOKINGLY SAID THEY WERE ALMOST AS GOOD AS HIS OWN. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT SURE HOW BEGIN WOULD FEEL ABOUT THESE IDEAS, THEY WERE
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VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND CLOSE TO HIS. (HE ADMITTED SMILINGLY THAT WEIZMAN HAD NOT TOLD ME ALL OF THEM.) HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT SADAT HAD BACKTRACKED ON THESE THOUGHTS AFTER THE FIRST DAY OF DISCUSSIONS WITH WEIZMAN. DAYAN STRESSED THAT SADAT WOULD HAVE TO RETURN TO THEM. I SUGGESTED THAT HE TALK THEM OVER WITH THE SECRETARY AND WE MIGHT BE ABLE THEN TO DISCUSS THIS WITH SADAT. (SHOULD NOTE HERE THAT ISRAELIS ALL REMAIN BAFFLED BY SADAT'S SEEMING REVERSAL OF FIELD OVERNIGHT ON MARCH 30, BETWEEN HIS MEETINGS WITH WEIZMAN. THEY DO NOT BELIEVE STORY OF HIS MEETING WITH A "GROUP OF GAZANS." TODAY, HOWEVER, I HEARD FROM A VERY RELIABLE SOURCE THAT WE ARE BEING GIVEN THE "CREDIT" FOR THIS SWITCH. APPARENTLY IN A RECENT GOI CABINET MEETING SOMEONE REPORTED THAT AMBASSADOR EILTS HAD SEEN SADAT THAT EVENING AND HAD PERSUADED HIM TO BACKTRACK. WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL TO HAVE AMMUNITION TO SPIKE THIS STORY. PRESUME IT COULD REFLECT WEIZMAN'S ERRONEOUS ASSUMPTION THAT EILTS WAS BRIEFED BY MUBARAK ON MARCH 30, RATHER THAN APRIL 1 (SEE CAIRO'S 9802, PARA ONE).

4. I ALSO BROUGHT UP DAYAN'S AND CABINET'S LATEST

STATEMENTS ON RESOLUTION 242, NOTED THAT I THOUGHT THEY WERE MILDLY CONSTRUCTIVE, BUT ASKED WHETHER HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT THERE WERE ANY FURTHER POSSIBILITY OF MOVEMENT. DAYAN REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT SEE THIS AS NECESSARY. EVEN IF HE WERE TO BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL TO MAKE FURTHER CHANGES, THE QUESTION OF THE MEANING OF 242 SHOULD COME TO A TEST ON A PRACTICAL RATHER THAN A SEMANTIC PLANE. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE SUPPOSED THAT WE CAME TO AN AGREEMENT ON THE ALLON PLAN WHICH INCLUDES TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE. IN THIS CASE THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES COULD BE INTERPRETED IN A CERTAIN WAY. HOWEVER, IF AN AGREEMENT WERE REACHED IN WHICH ISRAELI FORCES WOULD REMAIN IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IN A NEW DEPLOYMENT, THE MEANING OF WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES SHOULD NOT BE PRESSED SO MUCH.

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IN ANY CASE, AN ACADEMIC INTERPRETATION OF 242 IS NOT THAT IMPORTANT. WE MUST READ AGREEMENT ON ITS PRACTICAL MEANING AND WORK BACKWARDS THEN TO SEE IF WE STILL HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THE LANGUAGE IN THE DECLARATION OF

PRINCIPLES. 242 SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR AGREEMENT. IT IS BETTER TO LEAVE THINGS AS THEY ARE NOW AND FOCUS ON THE PRACTICAL SITUATION IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

6. I THEN SUGGESTED THAT IF DAYAN DID NOT LIKE OUR PLEBISCITE IDEA, HE SHOULD TRY TO BE THINKING OF OTHER POSSIBLE WAYS TO PERMIT THE WILL OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA TO BE EXPRESSED AT THE END OF A TRANSITION PERIOD. DAYAN LISTENED BUT DID NOT RESPOND.

7. I ALSO NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT OF SETTLEMENTS MIGHT COME UP IN WASHINGTON AND ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING NEW ON THIS SUBJECT. DAYAN CLEARLY DID NOT WANT TO TALK ABOUT SETTLEMENTS AND SIMPLY SAID HE DID NOT INVOLVE HIMSELF IN THE BUSINESS OF OTHER MINISTERS. HE ADDED THAT IF THE US WANTED TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE IT WOULD BE THE PERFECT REASON TO INVITE THE PM TO THE WHITE HOUSE(*).

8. COMMENT: DAYAN WAS IN AN UNUSUALLY RELAXED AND POSITIVE-FRAME OF MIND DURING THIS DISCUSSION, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT HIS HOME IN ZAHALA. HE BELIEVES THE TIME IS NOW RIPE TO GET DOWN TO CASES WITH US ON THE WEST BANK, AND TO TRY TO WRAP UP THE DECLARATION. HE IS APPROACHING THE MEETINGS AS A SERIOUS NEGOTIATION, PERHAPS A DECISIVE ONE, AND NOT JUST ANOTHER CHAPTER IN THE ENDLESS "NEGOTIATING PROCESS." HE CLEARLY SENSES THE ISRAELI ROOM FOR MANEUVER IS SHRINKING FAST AND THAT

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AN AMERICAN PEACE PLAN LOOMS JUST AROUND THE CORNER.
WITH THE WEIZMAN CHANNEL TEMPORARILY BLOCKED, DAYAN
AGAIN HAS THE BALL--AND HE WANTS VERY MUCH TO CARRY IT
INTO THE END ZONE NEXT WEEK IF THERE IS A WAY TO DO SO.
HIS BASIC PROBLEM IS, I FEAR, THAT HIS COACH'S
PLAYBOOK IS WOEFULLY BEREFT OF OPTION PLAYS. LEWIS.
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETINGS, CAT-B, NEGOTIATIONS, PEACE PLANS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE103677
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:RCASTRODALE
Enclosure: REPEAT OF TEL AVIV 5384
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: N780004-0617
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780427/aaaaawko.tel
Line Count: 182
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4d0954a9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 TEL AVIV 5300
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 aug 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2877922
Secure: LOCK1
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040610
Subject: DAYAN'S FORTHCOMING MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, OVIP, IS, EG, US, XF, (DAYAN, MOSHE), (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4d0954a9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014